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Author(s): C. Raymond Beazley

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the raids made by the Turcomans into Khorasan, and the condition of Bokhara at that time. Years afterwards my late friend, the famous Russian traveller Khani-koff, described to me the state of Bokhara in his time. Now it is described as a country perfectly safe to travel in by Mr. Rickmers and by Mrs. Rickmers, and we know that these horrible raids into Khorasan have entirely ceased. The whole of this is due to the countrymen of M. Lessar, who, I think we must agree, have conferred a great and lasting benefit on this region and on its people. Mr. Rickmers has described to us the extraordinary rapidity with which the natives of Bokhara sometimes cover hundreds of miles on horseback, which reminded me of the account of the old Spanish ambassador who paid a visit to the court of Timur at Samarkand. The great Timur was in such a hurry to see this strange visitor, that he gave orders that horses were to be got ready at every post, and no stoppage at all was to be made. The old Spanish knight was entirely made up of bone and sinew, and didn't much care; but, unfortunately, the fat Canon of Segovia, who accompanied him, got worse and worse at every stage. The people did not dare to let him rest. They must obey orders. They put pillows on the saddle for him to sit on, and got him nearly to the Iron Gates, but there the poor old gentleman died, while the ambassador arrived as fresh as paint at Samarkand.

You will all agree with me that Mr. Rickmers' communication is an excellent type of paper. Mr. Rickmers has not only, in a most interesting manner, described the country and the people and his travels, but he has also introduced most interesting points in physical geography in describing the mountains and valleys he has visited. I am sure you will all join with me in a unanimous vote of thanks for his paper and for the admirable way in which it has been illustrated.

NEW LIGHT ON SOME MEDIÆVAL MAPS.

By C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY, M.A.

I.

KONRAD MILLER'S great work, in six (or seven) parts, is now complete. The 'Mappæmundi'* occupy six thin quarto volumes; and to these we may add a seventh, of quite different size and appearance, but inseparably connected with the series that it precedes, and (in great measure) elucidates. This indispensable preface is itself composed of two parts: one of these is a coloured reproduction of the Peutinger Table; the other is a commentary on the same.† This study, published in 1888, was followed in 1895 by the first of the 'Mappæmundi,' an encyclopædic series of studies of the 'Oldest World-Maps' ('Die ältesten Weltkarten'). This first instalment dealt with the various designs of the "Beatus" group, to which we shall return presently; and here, perhaps, more than anywhere else, Prof. Miller has laid all geographical

* Mappæmundi, 'Die ältesten Weltkarten.' Herausgegeben und erläutert von Dr. Konrad Miller, Prof. am K. Realgymnasium in Stuttgart. Stuttgart: Jos. Roth'sche Verlagshandlung.

† (1) 'Weltkarte des Castorius, genannt die Peutinger'sche Tafel.' In den Farben des Originals herausgegeben und eingekleitet von Dr. K. . . . M. . . . etc. Ravensburg: Otto Maier. (2) Ibid., Einleitender Text, 128 pp.

students under obligation,* and shown to the fullest extent his brilliant powers, both of synthetic and critical work.† Here, also, he has most conspicuously added fresh material to our knowledge, by his rediscovery of ancient plans and map-sketches long supposed to be lost.‡ The 'Beatus' volume was followed in the same year, 1895, by an atlas of sixteen early mediæval maps,§ photographically reproduced; and by a textual examination of twenty-eight cartographical writings or designs, mostly from the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, which are grouped together under the title of the 'Lesser World-Maps' ('Die kleineren Weltkarten').|| The fourth number of the 'Mappæmundi' series is given to the 'Hereford Map'; this appeared in 1896,¶ like the fifth volume, devoted to the curiously parallel map of Ebstorf.** Both of these are illustrated by sumptuous reproductions (the Ebstorf in facsimile size and colour) forming large wall-pictures. Lastly, in the sixth and concluding part, Prof. Miller attempts to reconstruct a number of lost maps, among which that of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna occupies the first and leading place.††

It may, perhaps, be useful to make some attempt at an estimate and summary of what has been done recently for the study of mediæval geography in these works, and especially in the first, third, fifth, and sixth parts of Miller's 'Mappæmundi.'

It seems hardly too much to say that, in relation to the Beatus group, this scholar has brought us out of dusk into day. We may not be able to agree with all his conclusions; we may sometimes think certain details of his theories are too definite and positive in relation to the scantiness and vagueness of the material; but none the less his work is a revelation. He has made it clear that several works of the early mediæval cartography, such as the map of "St. Sever," that of "Turin," the "Spanish Arabic" map of the British Museum (1109), and others, which had in former times been usually treated as quite distinct, were intimately related, and indeed were simply reproductions

* We must not forget the admirable work of Cortambert and other French scholars, from which Miller has advanced to the present position. See, e.g., *Bulletin Soc. Geog. Paris*, 1877, pp. 337-363.

† Mappæmundi, Heft 1, 'Die Weltkarte des Beatus, 776 n. Chr.' (with 4 map-reproductions, and a scheme of the Beatus group), 70 pp.

‡ Three of the copies, St. Sever, Turin, and London of 1109, have been known some time; the rest are pretty recent finds.

§ Mappæmundi, Heft 2, 'Atlas von 16 Lichtdrucktafeln.'

|| Mappæmundi, Heft 3, 'Die kleineren Weltkarten,' with 78 illustrations of maps and several schemes showing cartographical relationship. 160 pp.

¶ Mappæmundi, Heft 4, 'Die Herefordkarte, 1276-1283.' (With 2 illustrations in text and a reproduction in full size.) 54 pp.

** Mappæmundi, Heft 5, 'Die Ebstorfkarte, Ende des 13 Jahrh.' (With reproduction in full size.) 80 pp.

†† Mappæmundi, Heft 6, 'Rekonstruierte Karten, des 7 bis 1 Jahrh. n. Chr.' (With 66 illustrations.) 154 pp.

(with small additions or omissions) of an original Spanish design, fairly attributable to a certain priest of the eighth century. Beatus, the priest in question, was the author of a 'Commentary on the Apocalypse,' which by external and internal evidence has been fixed to about the year 776; and in this commentary appeared a sketch of the world, which, there is no good reason to doubt, came also from the hand of Beatus. The author was famous in the general Church history of Spain as a leading opponent of the "Adoptionist" heresy of Felix of Urgel; and along with Etherius, Bishop of Osma, he firmly maintained the eternal Godhead of Christ in opposition to the view of Felix and his friend Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo, viz. that the Son had been adopted and received into Divinity by the Father. For some time he seems to have led a monastic life under Abbot Fidelis, of St. John of Pravia, near Oviedo; and his death, in 798, took place at the Benedictine house of Vallecava, or Valcavado, in the Asturias. Queen Adosinda, the wife of King Silo of Oviedo (774-783), was a patron and firm friend of Beatus, who was her confessor; by one tradition he was also an instructor of Alcuin, though by another story he was a deaf-mute, and hardly capable of shriving penitents or taking much part in the work of tuition. At any rate, he shares with the celebrated scholar of Charlemagne's court in the abuse of Elipandus, who pleasantly describes Beatus as an obscure hill-man and cave-dweller, a babbling denizen of the woods, an instructor of brutish beasts, a forest donkey, and the like. His friends, on the other hand, though declaring that our author led a saintly life, are less explicit about his science and learning; but there is no real ground to suppose that the map is by another hand than that of the Apocalypse-commentator of 776, or that the commentator in question is other than Beatus.

The original world-sketch of 776 was probably drawn to illustrate the spread of the Christian faith over the earth, and in especial allusion to such texts as Matt. xiii. 1-9, 18-23, 24-32, and other comparisons of the world and the kingdom of heaven to a field sown with seed. This idea was further developed by a series of pictures of the twelve Apostles, each in the locality where tradition fixed his preaching and his diocese. A note of the Latin Commentary tells us quite plainly that these vignettes were an essential feature from the first; that they illustrated the preaching or sowing of the Word "in the field of this world;" and, by implication, that the apostolic portraits were placed here and there—in certain definite cities and regions—upon a world-map.* This map, therefore, aimed, first of all, at exhibiting the *Divisio Apostolorum*. And the *Divisio* was conceived as follows: To Peter was assigned Rome; to Andrew, Greece or Achaia; to Thomas, India; to

* "Et hii falcibus haec seminis grana per agrum hujus mundi metent. Quod subiecta formula picturarum demonstrat."

James, Spain ; to John, Asia ; to Matthew, Macedonia ; to Philip, Gaul ; to Bartholomew, Lycaonia ; to Simon Zelotes, Egypt ; to Matthias, Judæa ; to James, the brother of the Lord, Jerusalem ; while to Paul there was no such definite location given, as his mission was to all the world. His portrait, however, appeared on the map, along with that of St. Peter, at Rome, as a co-founder of the "Apostolic see." * These pictures have only survived in one of the ten existing copies of the Beatus map, that of "Osma," bearing date A.D. 1203 ; and of course the so-called portraits are all of one type, and that an intensely sacerdotal one.

The ten copies just referred to are plausibly classed by Prof. Miller in two main groups, and each of these he subdivides once more. The first main division is the family of Osma, the second that of Valcavado. To the former belong three copies, to the latter seven. The parting of these two chief stems certainly takes us far back into the tenth century, if not into the ninth, and where the first, third, fourth, and eighth copies agree † we may well suppose we have absolutely original matter. Each of the great stems appears to be immediately derived from one or more "intermediate" copies (as we may term them) of the tenth century, copies which have not come down to present-day knowledge, but may yet be recovered, perhaps in the recesses of a Spanish convent.

The three examples of the Osma type are maps of very different value. First, there is the "St. Sever," now at Paris,‡ a work executed at the above-mentioned convent in Aquitaine about 1030-1050 ; this is the most valuable, the most carefully executed, and the richest in content of all the copies. It is probably the nearest to the original type, and is therefore primary in any attempted reconstruction of that type. Next we have the "Paris" of about 1250,§ which cartographically is a frightful jumble of seas, countries, and natural features,|| but has some valuable reminiscences of certain original material not so prominent elsewhere. These two copies together form, in Miller's view, the first subdivision of the Osma stem ; the Paris of 1250 making a link between this and the next group, or subdivision, of which only a single specimen remains. This is the "Osma" map of 1203, which

* The Commentary, which is mainly based upon St. Isidore, of Seville, describes all this in writing ; and the map (in the Osma copy of 1203) agrees pictorially with the indications of the Commentary.

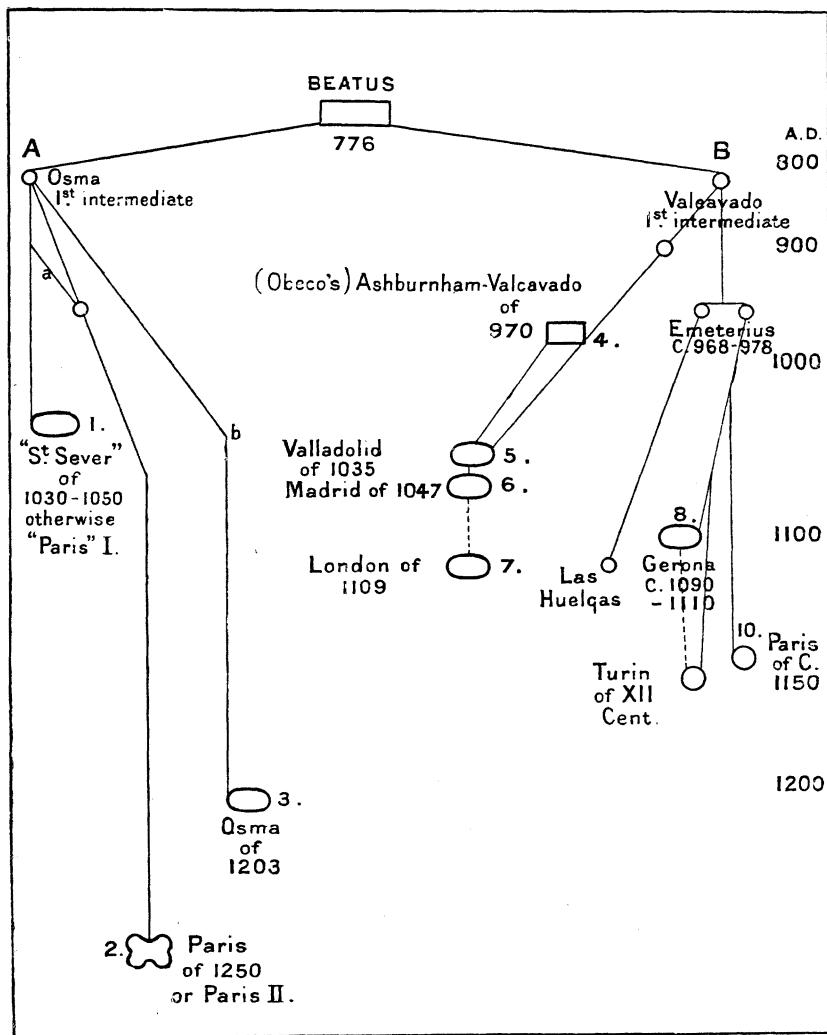
† "St. Sever," "Osma," "Valcavado-Ashburnham," and "Gerona."

‡ And hence labelled "Paris I." among Beatus maps. The manuscript was written at the order of Gregory de Muntaner, Abbot of St. Sever 1028-1072. On Fol. 6 the names "Stephanus Garcia Placidus" are conjectured by Miller to refer to the artists or scribes of the same.

§ Also labelled "Paris II.," St. Sever being "Paris I.," and the B.N. copy of twelfth century, of "Emeterius" descent, "Paris III."

|| E.g. *Palestine* in the interior of *Africa*, *Southern Italy* adjoining *Jerusalem*, which town is made quite separate from *Palestine*.

has much in common with St. Sever, especially in its general form. After the Aquitanian copy, it is certainly our chief example of Beatus cartography. In some points it is even superior, as more directly representing the original. Thus, in its pictures of the twelve Apostles



it is unique, and explains to us the very *fons et origo* of the Beatus scheme. Also, in its representation of the Eastern Mediterranean, of Taprobane (= Ceylon plus Sumatra, in confused mediæval idea), and of other parts, it shows to more advantage than any of its rivals. Like the

Paris of 1250, the Osma map represents the Skiapods or Shadow-footed Race of the Southern Continent, and depicts the site of Paradise simply by the springs of the Four Sacred Rivers. Its delineations of the two lighthouse towers at Alexandria and Brigantia are very remarkable, and certainly represent features of the original of 776.

The second family of copies Miller calls that of Valcavado. It contains seven examples, one of them the earliest yet found; but none of these seven approach in value to the maps of St. Sever or of Osma. They may, like the Osma clan, be subdivided into two groups: one contains the "Valcavado-Ashburnham" of 970, the "Madrid" of 1047, and the "Spanish-Arabic" of the British Museum in a manuscript of the Apocalypse Commentary written in 1109; the other includes the "Gerona" of about 1100, the "Turin" of the twelfth century, and the "Paris" of about 1150. Here also, as in the Osma group, we must allow for several lost copies, and especially for two of the tenth century, which are the immediate predecessors of the last three examples, and are both associated with one Emeterius of Tabara. Among the other examples here noticed, the Madrid map and the copy of 1109 seem to be directly inspired by the work of 970; they are all of very slight comparative value, and are further removed from the original type than any other copies. Thus the Valcavado of 970, traditionally the work of a copyist named Obeco, omits nearly all the rivers of the primitive design (as given by St. Sever, Osma, etc.), as well as the pictures or house-plans representing cities and towns, and turns the oval form * adopted by Beatus into an absolutely right-angled one. Among the examples of the last subdivision, those examples, namely, which come through the medium of the lost Emeterius transcripts, the Turin map is the most famous and interesting. It is not so old or so important as once supposed, for it appears to be no earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century; and it would seem to be in great measure a derivative from the map of Gerona (1090-1110?). But in any case it has remarkable peculiarities, which have naturally made it a favourite subject for reproduction. Perhaps it is the best known example of strictly dark-age cartography. For though the celebrated wind-blowers, so prominent here, are also to be found in a ruder form on the Paris of 1250, their execution on the Turin map is far more vigorous and developed, and supplies us with the best artistic detail of any feature in Beatus Geography.

There is no Graduation on any of our ten Beatus examples, though certain lines from the writing and ruling on the other side of the page have sometimes been mistaken for horizontal and vertical indications. In all these designs, except one, the east is at the top; the Paris of

* This is practically certain. All the Beatus maps, except three, may be called ovals: "Ashburnham-Valcavado" is square; "Turin" and "Paris III." are circular. All of the more valuable Osma stem are ovals.

1250, which substitutes the south, probably through Arabic influence, makes this substitution with such hopeless inconsistency, in regard to other parts of the map, that it is clear the copyist is here departing from his original. Paradise is placed in the extreme east, accompanied with pictures either of Adam and Eve or of the Four Sacred Rivers. On the Ground-Work of 776 both these probably appeared together.* Following St. Isidore of Seville, Beatus seems to have placed the Garden of Innocence, not on an island beyond the continent, but on the mainland, encircled by unscalable mountains.

The division of the continents is in general the same as that of the so-called **T-O** maps [⊕], Asia occupying the upper half, while in the lower part Europe has the left-hand quarter, Africa the right-hand. The western border of Asia is formed by a series of rivers and narrow seas, from the Tanais, or Don, to the Nile.

Beyond Africa, separated by a strip of ocean, nine of the Beatus maps † show us the southern, Australian, or antipodean continent of an ancient theory, as endorsed by St. Isidore. According to this view, Africa did not reach to the equator, which was covered by an ocean zone, impassable from heat, beyond which again was a land of non-human monsters. Of the Antipodes, in the strict Greek sense, implying the Earth's rotundity, Beatus gives no hint; and the map of St. Sever evidently confuses Taprobane with the antipodean land of some classical geographers.

In the Beatus designs the ocean is usually ornamented with pictures of row-boats and fishes; and on one copy the fish in question appear to follow regular courses, as if to indicate the periodical wanderings of shoals of tunnies and herrings, or the direction of ocean currents. As to other features of special interest, we may perhaps notice that the Black sea and Caspian are only to be found in the three Osma stem copies. Also that the Red sea is understood by almost all the copyists in the sense of the whole southern ocean, including that on the south side of Africa, which, in Beatus, of course, is the *long* side of the continent

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w [] E. The Persian and Arabian gulfs are treated as mere inlets of
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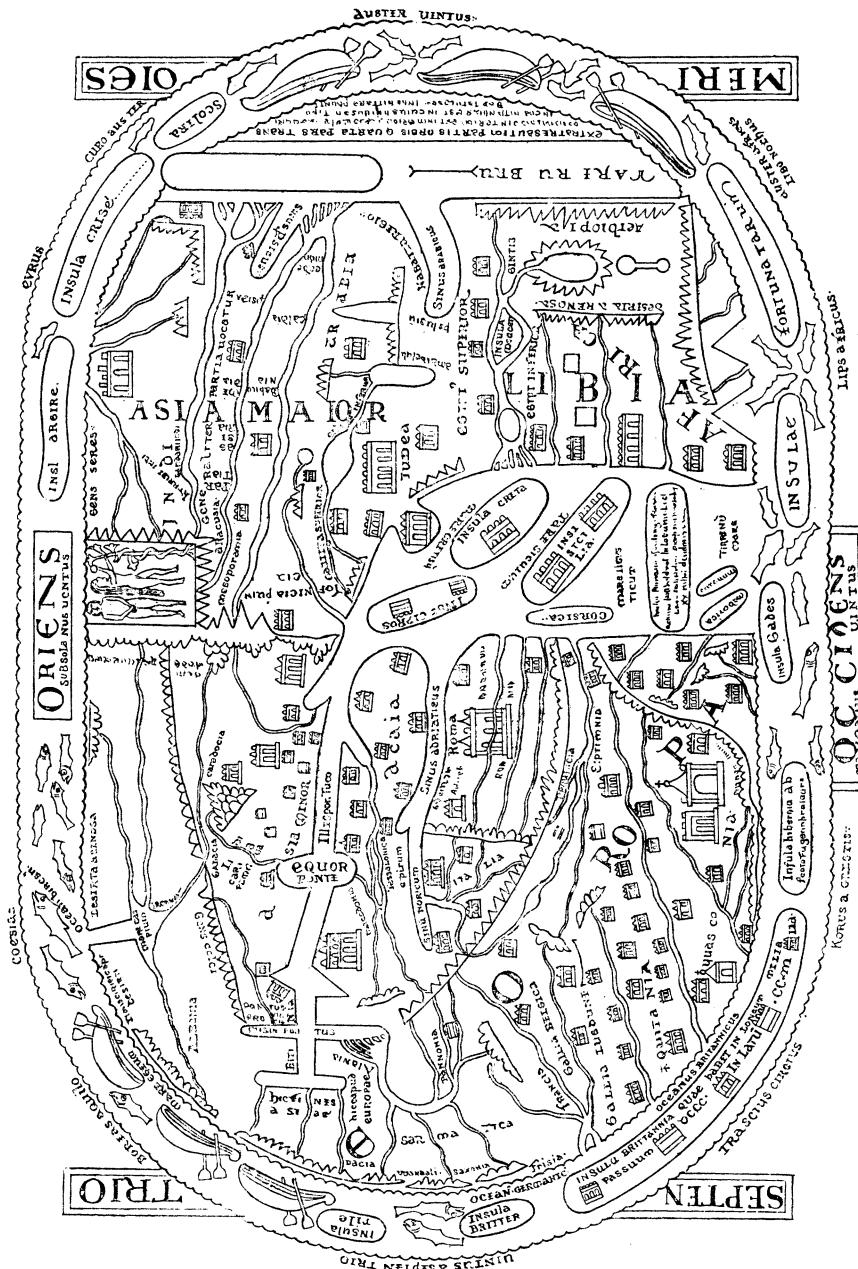
the great Red sea; only the latest example, the Paris of 1250, shows a tendency ‡ towards the modern restriction in this point. Again, only our two best specimens, St. Sever and Osma, give us any large number of mountains or rivers. But from these copies, taken along with

* As on the Hereford and Ebstorf maps of the thirteenth century.

† The only exception is the latest of our copies, the Paris of 1250 ("Paris II."), and this gives us the Skiapod of the southern continent in a corner. This, of course, points to the copyist having had an original which gave the southern continent as fully as, for instance, on the Osma example of 1203.

‡ Colouring only the Persian and Arabian gulfs red.

such scraps of evidence as the other transcripts afford us, we may conclude that the original must have contained the Rhine, the Rhone, the



Danube, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Jordan, the Nile, and some Caspian affluents. On the other hand, the absence of Spanish rivers is remarkable. The chief towns of the *oikouménη* were probably marked on the original by vignettes or pictures (reminiscent of the primitive Peutinger Table?) which survive on the Osma of 1203 and the Paris of 1250 ("Paris II."), and are developed with considerable sumptuousness and artistic beauty in the Paris of 1150 ("Paris III."). Among these, reproductions almost certainly of features of the 776 original, the most noteworthy are Rome, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, with the lighthouses or beacons of Alexandria and Brigantia.

There is not much fabulous matter in the Beatus maps; and the two most prominent details under this head, the Phœnix of Arabia and the Skia-pods or Shadow-Footed race of the Southern Continent, probably belong to the original. Jerusalem is never made the centre of the Earth, though the late Paris of 1250 shows a tendency in this direction. The "Sallust" map-sketches of the twelfth century are the earliest to show this feature with perfect clearness, though it is expressed in writing by the pilgrim Arculf, about A.D. 690, and even by earlier theologians.

The great winds of heaven were probably described rather than depicted in the original of 776 in much the same way as on St. Sever; the wind-blowers or Æoli of the Turin copy and of the Paris of 1250 are almost certainly later additions.

Beatus himself no doubt viewed his map primarily as an illustration of the Old and New Testament and of the spread of the Catholic faith. Besides the Scriptures (from which, however, he does not borrow much, beyond the Apostolical names), he seems to have used two main authorities. One was probably a Roman province-map, perhaps of a character resembling the Peutinger Table; the other was St. Isidore of Seville. St. Jerome, Ptolemy, Orosius, and Julius Honorius appear in the Beatus material only in an indirect and doubtful form. From the great Spanish theologian come almost verbatim the main body of the longer legends or inscriptions, most fully given in St. Sever. We must not forget that Isidore himself derived the matter, and even much of the form, of these little geographical dissertations from the cosmographies of the later Roman period. On the other hand, no earlier source of the apostolic picture-scheme is known; it may be, as far as embodiment on a map is concerned, wholly or partly original. But of course the apostolic locations, or dioceses, are found in very early Christian tradition, and most of them are probably true in fact.

Prof. Miller demonstrates with great skill and convincing force that the geography of Beatus, properly speaking, was derived from a typical province-map of the later Roman empire, on which each province was marked by representations of its two chief towns. The Caspian sea, the Alexandria Pharos, the Nile inscription, and the "Desert where the children of Israel wandered forty years," are closely parallel in the

Peutinger Table as we possess it (clouded by some thirteenth-century mediævalisms) and in St. Sever. The close relationship of the Beatus cartography to such an old imperial work as survives in the famous Table is the key to all satisfactory study of this interesting family of dark-age maps. It is a relationship that may be worked out in much detail; but here we will only notice such connection as will be found in a general comparison of the names of peoples, cities, hills, and rivers, and in the Indian, Syrian, and African legends; adding that in Gaul, not only are the same provinces named and the same divisions made, but the striking *omissions* of the table occur also in St. Sever.* Of the 133 names of towns in the Beatus maps, over 90 agree with "Peutinger," and among the 90 are found all (except two) of the important places marked by pictures.† The arrangement of the town-names in various provinces, and especially in Greece or Achaia, shows also a very close agreement. The "Francia" of Beatus, in its *trans-Rhenane* position, and the legends on Mount Sinai, and the desert of the wandering, were all probably on that old imperial map which Beatus used, and which lies at the root of the Peutinger Table; in certain instances where the Spanish draughtsman gives names to places which are pictured, but not titled, in Peutinger the same relationship is still more pointedly suggested.

On the other hand, Beatus has nothing similar to the Itinerary-content of the Table, and does not give us a single one of the thousands of stations and distances which occur in the great road-map. Nor, of course, can the table's many references ‡ to pagan temples and worship be paralleled in the world-picture of the Spanish priest of Vallecava. But, in spite of all differences, we probably possess in the Beatus maps a dark-age reflection, on a smaller scale, of one or more cartographical works of the latter days of the old empire, free from all additions of the crusading period, and of inestimable value as a link between the ancient and the mediæval world. While, lastly, in the Hereford and Ebstorf maps, and in several other plans of the central Middle Age, we have many indications of Beatus influence. We can show perhaps more at length in another paper that the links between classical and post-classical map-science, between the "Orbes Picti" of the Augustan age and certain designs even of the thirteenth century, are remarkably numerous and strong; and that mediæval cartography, even before the Portolani, was not altogether without system and knowledge, as apparent in examples other than those of the Beatus group.

* Usually little houses. The great vignettes at Rome, Constantinople, and Antioch were apparently recast, and much altered, by Beatus in his humbler, Christianized sketches from these splendid Pagan pictures.

† On the other hand, in the treatment of Gallic *towns* there are great differences, Peutinger representing the ancient name-forms, and Beatus (St. Sever especially) modern canton- or tribal-equivalents.

‡ Nearly 600, according to the most careful estimate.